McCarthy Documented—*Willard Shelton*

THE *Nation*

November 1, 1952

Ike at Home and Abroad

He Lets Europe Down

BY MARK GAYN

He Sells America Short

BY LLOYD TUPLING

*

The French Revolt

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

Kenya: African Storm Signal

BY GEORGE W. SHEPHERD, JR.

NOV 3 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Boston's Battle of the Books

Boston

ON SEPTEMBER 23 the Boston *Post* fired the opening shot of a battle of the books that was to last almost two weeks. An unsigned column on the *Post's* front page informed its readers that the *New World Review*, "now required reading for all members of the Communist Party," was on the shelves of the Boston Public Library, but would not be, it added cheerfully, "for long." As it turned out, the *Post's* optimism had little foundation. Banner headlines, front-page editorials, and startling "revelations" of the library's contents have so far failed to shake the Marxist publications off the shelves.

The *Post's* campaign against the library began slowly. When the editors realized that their discovery of the *New World Review* in the library's periodical room was not going to induce Milton E. Lord, the library's director, to remove it, they demanded that the library "label the poison." Next a *Post* reporter found that the library did not have a copy of Senator Joe McCarthy's book, "McCarthyism—the Fight for America," which the *Post* was publishing in serial form. That offered an opportunity to blow up the crusade to headline proportions. Library officials said later that the book was on order, but its absence enabled the paper to work up some temporary excitement.

Succeeding *Post* articles, always unsigned, revealed that the library not only carried the *New World Review* but also the Russian newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and books by Lenin and Stalin. They declared, further, that the library actually urges people to read Communist publications; an exhibit advertising the adult-education program of the Great Books Foundation displayed the "Communist Manifesto" in a glass case. As a matter of fact the case contained similar paper-back editions of many other books, including plays by Euripides and selections from the "Aeneid" and from the Bible. The *Post* reporter saw only the "Manifesto."

Opposition to the campaign against the library was voiced by the Boston *Herald*. (The *Herald* is probably best known to *Nation* readers for its 1926 editorial, entitled "We Submit," in which the editors requested that the evidence in the Sacco-Vanzetti case be reviewed.) In two editorials the *Herald* defended the library on the ground that the American people must sift out the truth for themselves. Besides, if you have an enemy, the paper pointed out, it is a good idea to know what he is doing and thinking. The *Herald* said it was against "labeling" either books or periodicals.

With many capital letters blackened into bold-face type, the *Post's* new owner, John Fox, retaliated in a signed, front-page editorial. He warned his readers against "THE THING which is known as COMMUNISM," which to him means "the rape and prostitution of our women . . .; the slavery of our citizens . . .; the merciless extermination of our educated . . .; the extermination of all our religious—priests, ministers, rabbis, nuns." For these four sins, according to the *Post*, God must forgive the Communists, but for the fifth—"the seizing of the minds of our little children . . . THEY MUST BE DESTROYED."

This bogus religious appeal was probably directed toward the less informed Catholic opinion in the city, but Mr. Fox was rebuked almost at once by the *Pilot*, organ of the Archdiocese. The *Pilot* said that the church opposes library censorship, but it recommended that Communist publications be kept off the open shelves so as not to "confuse and confound the casual reader"—a policy already followed by the library.

Support for the library was also offered by the Back Bay Ministers' Association, the executive board of the New England Library Association, and a group of employees of the library.

Meanwhile the *Post* had collected allies. Two of the five trustees of the library, Judge Frank J. Donahue of the Massachusetts Superior Court and Patrick F. McDonald, president of the Archdiocesan Council of the National Catholic Laymen's League, said they were unaware of the presence of the *New World Review* in the library and intended to take steps to have it and other Communist publications removed. Mr. McDonald had earlier opposed the library's acquisition of Paul Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power" on the ground that it was anti-Catholic. Mayor Hynes said he would recommend that pro-Soviet publications be placed in a separate file and marked pro-Communist. The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion agreed that "subversive" publications should be banned. The City Council began to wonder what it had been appropriating money for. The result was a hearing before the council's Committee on Appropriations and Finance.

At the hearing it was evident that the library Board of Trustees was split. Mr. McDonald was in favor of banning Communist literature. The chairman of the board, Lee M. Friedman, a Boston lawyer, quoted from the American Library Association's Bill of Rights to support Mr. Lord's refusal to ban or label publications. Mr. Lord told the committee that in a period of twenty years only two books had been barred from the library and these only because state law forbade their circulation. "Strange Fruit" had been judged obscene by the courts, and "The Autobiography of Margaret Sanger" was not permitted to circulate in Massachusetts because it dealt with birth control. The committee postponed action.

On Friday, October 3, the trustees voted three to two to keep the offending publications but to see that "the material in the library shall not be misused for wrongful propaganda purposes to the injury of our country." They did not say how this should be done, but they came out strongly against censorship.

Then a *Post* reporter discovered a category in the subject file headed "Propaganda, Russian," and triumphantly announced that for all its brave words the library had in fact labeled pro-Communist books. He implied that the librarians had been secretly placing cards in this category during the campaign, though actually certain books had always been so classified to guide people interested in studying Russian propaganda. Since this last mistake, the *Post's* campaign has quieted down, and the library intends no change in policy.

EMILY WESTON

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

A Republican Myth

Those who are perpetuating the legend that President Truman has accused General Eisenhower of anti-Semitism are doing a distinct disservice to the Jewish community and to the country at large. In the first place they are obscuring the central issue in the dispute between the President and the General—the character of the McCarran Immigration Act. Secondly, they are making it appear that the act is bad because it is primarily anti-Jewish. Finally, they are distorting the facts, for the President's message to the Jewish Welfare Board did not accuse the General of bigotry. What Mr. Truman did was to emphasize the discriminatory aspects of the McCarran act and point to Eisenhower's willing collaboration with those who forced its passage over his veto.

The General's last-minute statement that "we must strike from our statute books any legislation concerning immigration that employs the blasphemy against democracy that only certain groups of Europeans are welcome on the American scene," does not alter the fact that when President Truman vetoed the bill the Republicans in the Senate voted four to one to override his veto, and in the House, seven to one. Leading the fight to override the veto were Senators Taft, Nixon, McCarthy, and Jenner, whom General Eisenhower now numbers among his "team."

The Facts in the Case

A new low in campaign expediency was struck when the pro-Eisenhower press and Governor Dewey tried to imply that certain elements, primarily the Jews, had made a group issue of this affair. The truth is that few Jews remain in the countries discriminated against under the act; Hitler took care of them. Virtually all leading Jewish organizations, to their honor, based their objections to the act on its un-American character. The chief opposition has come from Italians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, Armenians, Chinese. It has also been opposed by representative church, labor, and civic bodies, among them the Protestant National Council of Churches, the National Lutheran Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the Unitarian Service Committee, the National Council of Catholic Charities, the C. I. O., the I. L. G. W. U., the N. A. A. C. P., the A. D. A., the Liberal Party, and the Committee to Improve the United States Immigration Law.

Rabbi Silver's defense of General Eisenhower as a private individual is a matter of personal conscience. One wonders, however, whether he anticipated the political capital now being made out of his attitude by the Republicans—beginning with Governor Dewey, who persists in repeating the false charge that Mr. Truman imputed bigotry to the General.

Time Is on Bevan's Side

Nearly fifty Labor M. P.'s sat on their hands during the test of strength last week between the official leadership and the Bevanite "rebels." Even so, former Prime Minister Attlee won a substantial victory when by 188 to 51 the Parliamentary Labor Party passed a resolution requiring "immediate abandonment of all group organizations within the party, other than those officially recognized," and calling for an end of personal attacks by members on each other. Should the Bevanites ignore this order they will face expulsion.

It seems likely, however, that they will comply to the extent of disbanding such formal organization as they have rather than risk an open split in the party, especially as such a split would encourage the Tories to call a general election. Whether the ugly exchanges of personal abuse will also cease depends on restraint on both sides. For while the name-calling may have been started by the Bevanites, the right wing has recently been replying in kind and with interest.

While the Bevanite caucus may disappear, Bevanism is not likely to die. It has flourished not merely through effective organization—although that helped—but because it provided an outlet for a genuine wave of left-wing opinion among the most active elements in the party. Moreover, time is on its side. Already growing economic pressures have proved Bevan's point that the rearmament program was too heavy to be borne. In addition, the desire to break loose from America's leading-strings seems to be steadily growing among Britons in general.

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Whether this becomes a tidal wave of opinion depends, perhaps, less on anything Bevan may say, than on what the next Administration in Washington does. Continued pressure on Britain to cut East-West trade still further, combined with a reduction in economic aid and a refusal to revise the tariff, might well stimulate "neutralism" in Britain and make Bevan a national prophet instead of merely a left-wing hero.

Trouble in Kenya

New terroristic acts attributed to the Mau Mau secret society, the background of which is explained by George W. Shepherd, Jr., in an article on page 407, have led to the proclamation of a state of emergency in the British East African colony of Kenya. In addition, white settlers are being encouraged to arm themselves and detachments of regular troops have been flown to the scene.

There is no doubt that the Mau Mau movement, even if its size and influence have been exaggerated, does represent a challenge to the colonial authorities. It appears to have been responsible for some forty murders in recent months and for numerous beatings, acts of arson, cattle maimings, and other crimes. But police measures alone will provide no solution. As the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttelton, acknowledged during a debate in the House of Commons, the causes of the outbreak include land famine and social problems. The Kikuyu tribe, to which most of the terrorists belong, has grown in the last fifty years from 50,000 to 1,000,000 and during this period all the best land in Kenya has been taken for the benefit of white settlers.

Mr. Shepherd refers to the fear that, instead of instituting needed reforms, the government will use the Mau Mau emergency as an excuse to crack down on all native "agitators." On October 21, nearly a hundred Africans were arrested under an emergency order permitting detention without trial. They include Joma Kenyatta, president of the Kenya African Union, who has frequently denounced the Mau Mau, and numerous other native leaders, trade-union officials, journalists, and teachers, together with, as the London *Times* correspondent puts it, "common ruffians." Such dragnet methods strengthen the suspicion that the authorities aim at wholesale suppression of all organizations dedicated to advance African interests and may well serve to convert Mau Mau into a mass movement.

The Incurable Defect

The House Committee on Un-American Activities ran into some stormy political weather in its recent Los Angeles hearings to which some sixty-one witnesses were summoned. A fair example of the answers which were given to nearly every question regarding political beliefs

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and affiliations may be found in the reply of one witness: "I am not going to serve the purposes of this committee. I do not have to answer the accusations of stool pigeons. I do not have to answer the accusations of this committee and I refuse to do so." That so many of the witnesses were well-known and widely respected doctors and lawyers doubtless accounts for the distinctly unfavorable reception accorded the committee and for the fact that the hearings were abruptly adjourned until after the election. The public reaction was also influenced by such groups as the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, which is now preparing a recording of highlights of the hearings, and Women for Legislative Action, which protested similar investigations at an all-day conference on October 5 attended by 200 delegates representing a broad cross-section of community organizations.

In the past, criticism of the Un-American Activities Committee has focused on methods rather than purpose and for this reason has not been particularly effective. The committee has readily promised to improve its behavior but, as Alan Barth has pointed out, its incurable defect is "rooted in the purpose for which [it] was created and in the concept that Congress may properly punish, by publicity, activities which it cannot constitutionally declare criminal."

The Kutcher Decision

The United States Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, has held that mere membership in an organization listed as "subversive" does not constitute sufficient ground for the discharge of a government employee. Handed down in the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who held a minor clerical position in the Newark office of the Veterans' Administration, the decision represents the first legal setback the government has received in an individual case since the loyalty program was established.

The Loyalty Review Board from its inception has taken the position that membership in a listed organization made dismissal mandatory. The court has now said that mere membership, in the absence of other evidence, does not justify dismissal. In effect the decision shifts primary responsibility for the determination of loyalty back to the administrator or department head—where it belongs. In this instance, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs must determine "the ultimate issue as to whether on all the evidence reasonable grounds exist for the belief that Kutcher is disloyal." In view of this decision and the Supreme Court's ruling in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case that organizations cannot be listed as subversive without notice and a hearing, the present list should be set aside. Otherwise the government will be in the untenable position of maintaining an illegal official "blacklist" and thus gravely undermining freedom of political association. Until it is formally abandoned, the list will continue to work grave injustice on a great many citizens of whom only a few have ever been government employees.

Idaho and the U. N.

One of the few strictly anti-United Nations campaigns of this election is being waged in Idaho, home of the late isolationist leader Senator William E. Borah. Getting the "U. S. out of the U. N.," is the principal plank in Republican Representative John T. Wood's program for reelection from Idaho's First District. Wood, who ran for mayor of his home town on the Socialist ticket some years ago, has the dubious distinction of being one of the three largest users of the Congressional franking privilege. He has gained this distinction by mailing out thousands of pieces of anti-United Nations material. Typical of his attitude on the U. N. is the statement: "Show me an internationalist and I'll show you a traitor." His Democratic opponent, Mrs. Gracia Pfost, lost to Wood two years ago by 783 votes. She is campaigning this year on a pro-United Nations platform. The outcome of this fight should be a fairly accurate gauge of sentiment in this last isolationist stronghold in the Inter-Mountain West.

Smearing the U. N.

THE purge of the United Nations staff is rapidly assuming a serious political character. As part of the obstinate attempt to defeat Governor Stevenson on the Communist issue, the strategists of the Republican Party have dragged the question of Communist infiltration in the United Nations into the final phase of the Presidential campaign. Leading hatchet men of the "crusade," Senator McCarthy and Whittaker Chambers, were moved up to the firing line to bolster the charge that some of the "suspects" had been appointed to their posts in the U. N. with the help of Governor Stevenson and the "Hiss clique" of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. To the Old Guard front fighters it mattered little that the General Assembly was in session and that any assault on the independence of the United Nations would be deeply resented by the majority of the delegations. Even General Eisenhower took part in the game by demanding in his Boston speech "that our government take action to get rid of Americans of questionable loyalty who are connected with the United Nations." And it is a foregone conclusion that Senator McCarthy will use the McCarran committee's smear of the U. N. as part of his carefully planned attempt to pin the red label on Governor Stevenson in the final week of the campaign, thereby establishing himself as a leading contender for the Republican nomination in 1956.

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Until now the United Nations has been staffed by persons appointed by the organization itself, not by the United States government; today its independence is in the balance. As Mr. del Vayo said in his article, For a Free United Nations, on October 11, "the crux of the problem is whether or not the Secretary General considers the United Nations a sovereign institution." If he does, he need not seek the advice of the "group of eminent jurists selected from several U. N. countries" as he promised to do last week. He need only reread the Charter and, if necessary, glance over the Staff Rules, to which few people nowadays refer. Rule 6 says textually: "They [staff members] are not expected to give up their national sentiments or their political and religious convictions." The only limitation is contained in Rule 56, which provides: "No persons shall be appointed who have discredited themselves by their activities or connections with fascism or Nazism."

According to the Charter and the Staff Rules, a Communist staff member is not subject to expulsion unless he engages in political activities within the U. N. So far neither Trygve Lie nor the McCarran committee has produced the slightest proof of such activities on the part of any of the persons charged with subversion. What is happening is very obscure, and Mr. Lie obviously owes an explanation to his staff and to the public. Meanwhile his apparent willingness to cooperate with the McCarran committee plays directly into the hands of the Republican "crusaders." Perhaps *this* is a political action to which exception might be taken under the rules of the U. N.

No Time for Quibbles

AS THIS issue goes to press, it appears that the outcome of the election may well be determined by the independent vote in certain key states—namely, in California, Illinois, and New York. These states may swing either way and in all of them the independent vote is large. Of major importance will be the manner in which the 190,381 votes Wallace received in California in 1948 and the 509,559 votes he got in New York will be cast on November 4.

Although independent progressives should have little difficulty in making up their minds about this election, many are apparently still undecided. Some of them have understandable objections to important aspects of the Truman Administration and bitterly resent its tendency to yield ground to its critics which, as experience has shown, cannot easily be recaptured. But they should not permit their thinking to be swayed by the memory of past grievances when the immediate realities are so urgent.

The issues we consider of decisive importance were analyzed in the feature What You Lose if Eisenhower Wins, published on October 18, and also in the article by D. F. Fleming printed last week, showing that a victory for Eisenhower would accelerate the drift to war. As the campaign has developed, it has become clear that the Republicans intend not merely to check any extension of the welfare program but to reverse, if possible, the social gains of the Roosevelt decades. Since the conventions, and certainly since mid-September, the Republican campaign has been of a character to disillusion nearly every category of independent voter. Mark Gayn, who in June reported that Europe favored Ike, on page 402 of this issue reports Europe's disenchantment with its liberator-turned-politician. We would like to believe that the European change of heart reflects a similar shift in this country.

We would call attention, also, to Lloyd Tupling's account, on page 404, of the dramatic fight of the private-power interests to stop the Hell's Canyon project in Idaho, with its reference to the agreement between Governor Len Jordan and General Eisenhower on the question of public power. The article, it seems to us, has a larger relevance than a first reading might suggest. The story of the private-power lobby's skilful use of the "dynamic lie" to defeat this project suggests the source of the Republican Party's public-relations talent. Mr. Tupling's article is also enlightening about still larger issues. The fatal effect of a Republican victory on Hell's Canyon will almost certainly be felt by many similar projects and, indeed, by all welfare programs. These consequences point up the real differences between the two parties and the two candidates more eloquently than any detailed comparison of platforms or statements.

Again, some independent voters seem to have permitted their distaste for the Democratic Party, as an organization, to influence them too strongly. To these voters we would say that the Democratic Party of 1952 is not the Democratic Party of 1948: the Dixiecrats have largely withdrawn, the city machines have shown little enthusiasm for the Democratic nominees, and the Democratic ticket has obtained the support of a significant number of liberal Republicans including Senator Wayne Morse. While the Old Guard was never more solidly in possession of the Republican Party, the influence of the "interests" was never less in the Democratic. Independent voters should vote, not with an eye to past defeats but to future opportunities. The process of political realignment has been accelerated by this campaign; and to the extent that the McCarrans and the Byrds have deserted the ticket, independent progressives should find it that much easier to vote Democratic this year. Governor Stevenson has insisted again and again in the campaign that this is a "time for greatness"; and precisely because the issues are so important and the demand for great leadership so urgent, we ask voters to recognize that there is a clear choice between the candidates and the parties and to cast their ballots for the Democratic nominees.

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New Alignments in the U.N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE day may soon come when the clichés, "automatic majority" and "Anglo-American majority," which the Russians employ to stigmatize the alleged capture of votes by the United States delegation, will cease to have any meaning. The trend toward a greater assertion of independence in speaking and voting was apparent in the last Assembly. In the present one it has already become a fact of great significance.

This trend reflects the difficulties which the anti-Russian coalition faces outside the United Nations. But it is chiefly important within the United Nations because it endangers all the efforts of the last few years to neutralize the power of Russia's veto in the Security Council by transferring the most controversial issues to the Assembly, where a reliable majority has facilitated Western diplomatic operations. The creation of the so-called "Little Assembly" and similar measures taken against angry Soviet protests had no other aim.

The growing independence of countries usually included in the "Anglo-American majority" was seen in the vote taken on October 23 in the Assembly's Political Committee on the question of inviting the North Koreans, together with the South Koreans, to appear before the United Nations. The negative vote supporting the American position was much smaller than that on similar questions in previous Assemblies. With abstentions counted as favorable votes, Mr. Acheson was opposed by twenty countries, including Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala, and Bolivia.

Chiefly responsible for the new situation are the nations of the Asian-Arab bloc and the Latin American nations. The motives of the first are predominantly political, of the second, economic, although naturally the two frequently mix. The Arab-Asian countries vigorously oppose the efforts of the great powers to keep the Assembly from considering questions created by the widespread anti-colonial revolution—such as the situation in Tunisia and Morocco. They have seen their power in the U. N. increase as developments in Egypt, Iran, and other parts of the Middle East have blocked the efforts of the Atlantic coalition to strengthen its position in that area. Last week they scored a great success when the United States, at the price of antagonizing France, supported their demand to put Tunisia and Morocco on the agenda.

In general these countries are more apt to align themselves with the Soviet bloc, which represents the most aggressive anti-colonial tendency in the Assembly. The majority of the Asians seek the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, not only out of a sense of continental solidarity, but also as the surest means of preventing a disastrous extension of the war in Asia.

The Latin American bloc is increasingly unhappy over the fact that of every dollar spent on foreign aid by the United States, their share is only one dime. It naturally feels discriminated against. All these countries are expected to give total adherence to the objectives of the Atlantic coalition, maintain bilateral defense agreements with the United States, run the common risk of war, deny themselves trade with the Communist world, and at the same time resign themselves to seeing Point Four aid remain a theme for good-will speeches and dinners, with very limited practical results. To placate this discontent, Secretary Acheson visited Brazil last spring. The answer was the election in Chile of the former dictator Ibañez, who obtained much of his popular support through his opposition to military agreements with the United States. Now the Brazilian press is demanding an end to such agreements. The various interventions by Latin American delegates in the two weeks since the Assembly opened show that they are going to prove consistently less docile than in the past.

In the general debate Hernán Santa Cruz, of Chile, with the experience and authority derived from having presided over the Economic and Social Council for several years, sharply attacked American policy toward the underdeveloped countries. The Vice-President of Bolivia, Silas Suazo, who heads his country's delegation, dramatically voiced the distress of the small nations that they find themselves so powerless in the United Nations to aid in solving the world's problems. He vigorously affirmed his government's determination to carry out a policy based on the interests of the Bolivian people, not on those of the intrenched exploiters—the tin king, Patiño, and his associates of the big foreign mining companies. Muñoz, of Argentina, criticized the policy of the great powers in regard to the distribution of basic raw materials. Charlone, of Uruguay, ardently supported the Mexican proposal to end the deadlock over the exchange of prisoners in Korea.

The Asian-Arab and Latin American nations more and more frequently find themselves taking the same position. The Bolivian delegate indicated one of the most obvious points of agreement when he said: "The march of colonial and semi-colonial peoples cannot be stopped." It is premature to talk of a formal alliance between the two blocs, or even of two integrated blocs, since certain Latin American countries are still safely attached to the inter-American policy. But there is an undeniable tendency for each group to follow its "own" line in the United Nations, and to take all possible advantage of the strength each gains from the support of the other. All this can lead, and is leading, to a new power alignment which is worth watching very closely as the Assembly passes from general debate to the handling of each specific issue on the agenda.

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IKE AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. He Lets Europe Down

BY MARK GAYN

Paris

THIS year's American Big Show is a disenchanting spectacle for Europeans. They are shocked by the tone of the campaign, distressed by the issues, and disillusioned with the man for whom they once felt so much enthusiasm.

In a way this is Act III in an election melodrama. Act I, "Hail to Ike," began last May. It was a story of infatuation with General Eisenhower, the savior of Europe. The villain was Senator Taft, a dark isolationist figure out of the wilderness of the Middle West, who apparently felt that the United States should prosper in its own juice without wasting any more money on Europe. By contrast Ike seemed wonderful. He was a friendly man, with affection for Europe, appreciation of its problems, and a famous grin. As the Republican convention neared, Europe broke into a cold sweat just thinking of what would happen should Taft win the nomination.

Act II began in July. It was a cheerful performance, what with Eisenhower's victory over the isolationists and the nomination of Governor Stevenson. At this time Stevenson was almost unknown in Europe; from the scraps of information available he appeared to be an informed statesman who saw the United States as an integral part of a global system. In advance of their Continental colleagues British press and radio correspondents began to file dispatches on his charm, wit, and literacy—both political and syntactical. The Communists had at once branded both nominees as the choice of rival Wall Street cliques, but this did not seem to disturb the general public. The widespread feeling was, "Whoever wins, Europe cannot lose."

In mid-September the curtain went up on Act III, and it was a shocker. In a spectacular reversal of what they had been led to expect, Ike now appeared to Europeans as anything but friendly. An unfortunate remark he made about "decadent France" greatly annoyed the French. People began to wonder whether he had ever been Europe's true friend.

The disillusionment is now complete. Anxiety prevails in official circles, which only six months ago were rejoicing in Eisenhower's candidacy, and is percolating rapidly down to the public. The British press boldly, French and German publications more cautiously, say that Eisenhower has pitched his tent right next to the isolationist camp, and if he wins, America's foreign policy may be shaped by men who have no sympathy for Europe. Reports from America that General Eisenhower now favors a more vigorous policy in Asia increase the anxiety. Many fear that a "positive" American policy in the Orient might draw Europe into dreaded Asiatic adventures.

Europe received its worst jolt from Eisenhower's speech before the American Legion at the end of August, when he voiced the new Republican concept—liberation of enslaved peoples, not containment. It is true that the speech was inadequately reported, hastily gulped, and badly digested here. Responsible newspapers in England and on the Continent warned against reading too much into it. Yet people were shaken, and they were not calmed by John Foster Dulles's explanations. Not everybody, of course, was unhappy: a Hungarian refugee paper reported the receipt of numerous letters from exiles whose hearts were warmed by the new Republican doctrine. One urged gathering a fleet of ships to carry the Hungarian émigrés scattered over the world back to Europe, en route to their liberated homeland.

But though the exiles welcomed the prospect of "lib-

> General Eisenhower is the man who has called for cuts in the defense program so heavy that they would damage both the hope of safety and the world leadership of the United States; who is making political capital out of the casualties suffered by the United States forces in the Korean war; who denies that the American standard of living has risen since 1950 and says the government is to blame; and who allows himself to be associated with isolationists and witch-hunters right down to the level of Senator McCarthy. It may be argued that a Presidential candidate must represent the views of those in whose name he stands, but that fact in itself does not make these particular views any more enlightened or acceptable. Many old friends of General Eisenhower in this country, still recognizing his great qualities, must share the surprise of President Truman himself that a man who has formerly worked so hard for the cause of freedom and enlightenment should now lend himself to such activities.—*From the London* Spectator.

MARK GAYN is an American journalist who has spent the last five years in Europe. The Nation *of June 21 carried an article by him entitled Europe Votes for Eisenhower.*

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No reasonable man outside the Communist area of the world will suppose General Eisenhower to have meant that the United States ought to take warlike steps to give the peoples of China, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, and Sakhalin "the opportunity to choose their own path." The difficulty is rather that to list as *irredenta* vast areas of Europe and Asia, and to advocate telling the Soviet government "with cold finality" that "we shall never recognize the slightest permanence" in its position there, raises doubts about the manner in which General Eisenhower would really like American foreign policy to be conducted.

There have been many occasions in the past when American governments have taken up rigid, and wholly sincere, moral positions, refusing to recognize indubitable situations of fact, but such refusals have rarely been fruitful in their outcome. In these days the United States plays not a withdrawn but an active part in international affairs. From this change, perhaps the greatest single development in world affairs in the twentieth century, flows the inexorable necessity of matching a foreign policy to the means available for its pursuit; the desirable and the possible can no longer safely be confused.

The leading men of a democracy have to exercise a special care to make such distinctions clearly, or their own people will become confused about the purpose for which sacrifices are demanded of them and the results they can reasonably expect to see. It is more than likely that when General Eisenhower drafted his speech to the Legion he did not weigh all the awkward implications which some passages might have for his Secretary of State, should he be elected President.—*From the London* Times.

eration," European statesmen were worried. For them containment is the cornerstone of the entire Atlantic defense structure—of NATO, of the Lisbon accords, of German rearmament, and of many other things which Western Europe accepted under pressure but which have become an integral part of the political scene. After spending two years building European defense, governments saw the structure in peril—and at the hands of one of its chief American architects.

This reasoned objection to the idea of "liberation" is of course less powerful than the emotional reaction to what seems to be Eisenhower's new position. To a far greater degree than most Americans realize, people in Western Europe live in dread of another war. If their prime concern is to earn a living, their second is to stay at peace, at almost any price. And they know that liberation means war. Communist propaganda is busy strengthening this conviction, but the Communists are not its parents. Europeans are more and more coming to feel that United States policy is dragging them into war. It is in this belief that most of Europe's anti-American or neutralist ideas are rooted, from England's Bevanism to the Continental notion of a Third Force which would side with neither Russia nor America.

No subsequent explanations by the General or Mr. Dulles could abate the scare here. Even such a responsible organ as the London *Times* remained uneasy. "It would be pleasant to think," wrote its Washington correspondent, "that the 'liberation' idea had been buried when General Eisenhower failed to mention it [at a later meeting]. But there is evidence that it has only gone underground—or rather that it will not be used when Republican candidates are speaking to the nation as a whole but only when they are speaking to selected groups whose votes it might still win."

A well-known French political figure asked in *Le Monde* whether the concept of liberation, born of an electoral campaign, was likely to become an American diplomatic doctrine. If so, he continued, would liberation be an American or an Atlantic enterprise? Would it halt at the frontiers of Russia? Would it extend to countries captured by Communists in disguise? Could it be carried out without provoking a new world war?

With public opinion so alarmed, Stevenson suddenly loomed up as the champion of peace, righteousness, and good sense. His speech to the Legion was hailed as a courageous and sane declaration. It is amazing how often since then the word "courageous" has appeared in European editorial comments on the Democratic candidate. It has been applied to his stand on civil rights, labor legislation, foreign policy, tidelands oil, and many other issues.

Now, a fortnight before the election, the interest is intense. The French provincial press is asking the news agencies for more American news. The Paris papers, none of them rich by American standards, are rushing special correspondents to the United States to cover the last stages of the campaign. Considering their small size, European newspapers give an astonishing amount of space to the American election. Much of the British and French reporting of the campaign has been superb—detached, thoughtful, and just a little bit amused. The other day the Manchester *Guardian* devoted two precious columns to Mr. Arbuthnot's report on campaign clichés.

The contradiction in the Republican Old Guard is that it combines isolationism [in Europe] with interventionism in Asia. Europeans fear that the United States will abandon Europe in a military and financial sense and leave it without defense for a long period of years, while provoking the Soviets elsewhere. Eisenhower advocates an interventionism designed to make Russia retire to its original position—but how?—and an isolationism aimed at reducing credits to Europe. —*From the* Gazette de Lausanne, *Switzerland.*

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> How is it possible . . . to talk of a peace settlement in Korea when General Eisenhower is asserting that no settlement would be tolerable in that country which left the "captive" North Koreans or the "captive" Chinese under their present masters? . . . The plain fact is that General Eisenhower is outlining a policy to which he knows no Russian government could possibly give its acceptance. He thus rules out any faint possibility of negotiation and invites us to conquest, as the Russians would see it, more formidable by far than anything which ever filled the mind of man before. —*From the London* Tribune.

The public gobbles it all up. The owner of the *laiterie* where I buy my eggs and butter and ask occasional questions about the "Pinay experiment," quizzed me about the possible effect of the Nixon Affair. A Swiss professor wonders what will happen to freedom of thought, discussion, and travel if the Republicans win. A steel worker in Aneurin Bevan's own Ebbw Vale, which I visited a few weeks ago, wanted to know why General Eisenhower was "playing pals with Taft and McCarthy." "If you ask me," he said, "they've never been far apart."

Few people have any confidence in the continuity of American foreign policy no matter who wins. The majority fear the Republicans would sharply reverse the present policy and deprive Europe of badly needed economic aid. If this happens, some persons insist, European public opinion will turn even more strongly against the United States. One French diplomatic reporter predicted the other day that Eisenhower's victory would supply the Communists here with rich propaganda material, would feed anti-American feeling, and "might even lead to divisions such as have been forecast by Stalin." I personally expect no such dire effects. The national interests of both the United States and the Western powers transcend the views of any occupant of the White House, and these interests demand close collaboration. But it is undeniable that General Eisenhower's speeches have estranged Europe, and that if he wins he will have to make a real effort to undo the damage. At present Europe's heart belongs to Adlai.

2. He Sells America Short

BY LLOYD TUPLING

Boise, Idaho

GENERAL EISENHOWER gave the voters of the Pacific Northwest a look at his position on public power when he spoke here on October 6. It was a frightening view. For behind the General could be seen a group of men intent on exploiting for their own gain the region's last great undeveloped natural resource—the thirty million kilowatts of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

Eisenhower's proposal of a complex interstate-compact system for the development of water power was much the same as that put forward a week earlier by Governor Len Jordan of Idaho, the Northwest's most vociferous opponent of public power. Like Jordan, Eisenhower proposed that "planning, management, and coordination for all present and future public projects for a Columbia Basin development be vested, not in a federal Columbia Valley Authority, but a new interstate body," the members of which would be chosen under some as yet undrafted state laws. He did not explain why the present efficient federal agencies should be abandoned and management of the Columbia Basin water resources turned over to state legislatures easily controlled by predatory special interests.

In the psychological war against the expansion of public power, Governor Jordan and his backers have made the interstate-compact idea one of their principal weapons. They present it as a thoroughly American, decentralized, grass-roots plan for river development, completely ignoring its record of failure. They carefully avoid mention of the interstate compact for the development of the Colorado River, which has been stymied by endless court litigation and vicious political in-fighting. The great danger is that the unworkable compact plan would prove an excellent device for fouling public power in interstate disputes, thereby paving the way for captive state officials to turn the region's water-power resources over to "efficient, business-managed, taxpaying private utilities."

Cutting through the rugged mountains between Oregon and Idaho, the Snake River has carved the deepest gorge in North America, a natural site for a storage dam. The federal government proposes to build a 760-foot dam that would produce 688,000 kilowatts of power at the

LLOYD TUPLING has worked for the United Press in Idaho, Utah, California, and Washington. Until recently he was publisher of Statewide, *a Boise newspaper that has waged a strenuous fight for Hell's Canyon and other public-power projects in the Northwest.*

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[illegible] of the stored run-off waters of the Snake when the Columbia River is low would also increase power production at downstream dams by 436,000 kilowatts, making the project's total output 1,124,000 kilowatts, roughly equivalent to that of two more Bonneville dams.

A DAM at Hell's Canyon, by providing for the maximum use of water, would meet the chief requirement of comprehensive river planning. Not only would the power output be great, but the ninety-three-mile-long lake created would provide transportation into a now inaccessible region, opening large mineral deposits to exploitation and creating a new tourist business in the heart of primitive country. More than 60 per cent of the nation's raw phosphate rock is found in nearby beds which are still largely undeveloped for farm fertilizer because of the lack of cheap, abundant power.

Hell's Canyon dam is far enough downstream to collect water which has already been utilized for irrigation and power on the upper Snake River; it is far enough upstream to pass along storage benefits to downstream Snake and Columbia power plants. Revenue from the sale of power would reimburse the federal Treasury for nearly all of the project's $357,000,000 cost, plus 3 per cent interest, and in addition could be used to develop extensive irrigation systems. Without federal financial aid there is little prospect for more reclamation in the Snake River basin. Navigation and flood control would also benefit.

Initial hearings on Hell's Canyon dam were announced for July 9, 1947. On June 18, by a strange coincidence, the Idaho Power Company asked the Federal Power Commission for a license to develop the Oxbow power site, a virtually abandoned plant in the future Hell's Canyon reservoir. This was the signal for an all-out propaganda campaign put on by the private utilities to enable them to grab for themselves the Snake River's most valuable resource—the 1200-foot power head in Hell's Canyon.

The utilities' main contention was that the Hell's Canyon project, which brought the first threat of competition from public power into the Idaho Power Company's economic barony, was unnecessary because private enterprise was "ready, willing, and able to do the job." The extent of this willingness can be seen in the company's plan for river development. It asked for a license to build a run-of-the-river dam with nameplate capacity of 106,000 kilowatts, less than one-tenth of Hell's Canyon's potential output. Later the company proposed building at some unspecified future date four other run-of-the-river dams, to produce, together with Oxbow, 530,000 kilowatts. Besides developing only half as much power, the five low-head dams would provide no storage, no flood-control or navigation benefits, no financial aid to irrigation. The grant of the Oxbow license would forever end the hope of the power-hungry Northwest to enjoy the varied benefits of the high dam at Hell's Canyon.

That the company has been able to convince many people in Idaho and Oregon of the superiority of its plan for comprehensive river development testifies to the strength of the dynamic lie. Skilful public-relations men have been able to win over the press, infiltrate civic bodies, capture farm organizations, and generally poison the wellsprings of public opinion.

THEIR methods were first revealed during the referendum in Oregon in 1948 on Senate bill 99. The issue then was whether Idaho Power's Oxbow project should be exempt from the provisions of the state's hydroelectric act permitting public bodies to purchase the property of private utilities. S. B. 99, as Byron Brinton, editor of the weekly *Record-Courier* of Baker, Oregon, told a Congressional committee, "was a two-edged sword in the hands of the utilities. A 'yes' vote by Oregon could be used as a mandate to the Federal Power Commission to authorize the private [Oxbow] license in the reservoir site of Hell's Canyon. But if Hell's Canyon were ever built, the new Oregon law would be such that the Oxbow rights, developed or undeveloped, would provide the basis for a gigantic shakedown against the federal project, either for enormous property litigation or severance of power allocations, or both."

Much of the hatchet work on the bill was done by the Baker Chamber of Commerce, whose manager, Robert F. Ball, graduated to a full-time job handling the Idaho Power Company's campaign against Hell's Canyon. Mr. Ball announced that after "exhaustive study" the chamber favored Oxbow and would fight the referendum. A few days later the president of Idaho Power spoke against it in a chamber-sponsored address. Ball also arranged to have a Chamber of Commerce delegation present a protest at the Army Engineers' hearing on Hell's Canyon at Lewiston, Idaho. The statement was actually prepared by A. S. Grant, attorney for the California-Pacific Utilities Company, which, like Idaho Power, saw its high domestic rates threatened by the competition of public power from the federal dam. Another protest prepared by Grant was in the name of a quickly created Baker County Taxpayers' League.

Representatives of the power companies bored into all the groups which supposedly express public opinion. E. E. Kime, vice-president of California-Pacific, presided at a Baker Kiwanis club meeting in the absence of the regular president, and a pro-Oxbow resolution was adopted without discussion. Next Kime became a member of the industrial-development committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and soon afterward the chamber authorized Manager Ball "to spend his entire time be-

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tween now and the general election informing the citizens of Oregon about the critical need to amend our Oregon hydroelectric law." Ball handled the campaign for Idaho Power as secretary of a "More Power for Oregon Committee." The purpose of this infiltration and domination of civic groups by utility personnel was to make it appear that the general public opposed the high dam. The claim was refuted by the fact that the Idaho-Oregon Hell's Canyon Association, a grass-roots organization, enrolled more than 9,000 supporters in its first month of activity.

MANY false statements about Hell's Canyon were circulated. One newspaper said the big dam would cost $1,730 for each kilowatt produced: government estimates are $15.62 per kilowatt. It was asserted that Hell's Canyon dam would flood valuable farmland—except for a few hay farms the canyon is rocky and unsuited to cultivation; that it would bury large mineral deposits—mining companies await barge transportation on Hell's Canyon reservoir to enable them to work their low-grade claims; that it would destroy the scenic beauties of the canyon—the Seven Devil and Wallowa mountains tower 5,000 feet above the reservoir; that power output would be reduced 40 per cent in ten years by water depletion due to upstream irrigation projects—fifty years of irrigation have caused almost no appreciable decline in the Snake River flow. Oregon citizens were not fooled, however, and voted 242,000 to 173,000 against the private dams.

Anti-Hell's Canyon forces then shifted the main assault to Idaho, and the company produced a couple of new gimmicks—a phony water-rights issue and the "impartial" poll. By a clever distortion of facts in California's Santa Margarita water case, it tried to show that Hell's Canyon dam would deprive all irrigators in southern Idaho of their water rights. It is a mystery how the power-monopoly propagandists were able to make so many farmers believe that Hell's Canyon dam would affect their rights while the five company dams would not. The fact is that both the private and the public project must meet the problems of water rights and stream-flow depletion, the difference being that legislation authorizing Hell's Canyon dam guarantees all present and future upstream water rights, while if the private dams are built, farmers who need water will face the prospect of paying the power company.

To show that there was substantial opposition to Hell's Canyon dam, the Nampa, Idaho, Chamber of Commerce conducted a poll. Accompanying the ballot sent out was an "information sheet" offering the following "facts" for the guidance of members: "we could lose our water rights and self-government as regards our use of water"; "the project would mean great additional tax burdens"; "80 per cent of the power would be siphoned off to coastal areas"; "the Gant wou- -ite Releas private-enterprise construction of five low-head dams, to furnish virtually the same amount of power, would pay over $3,000,000 annual property tax, plus federal taxes." With this material as a basis of judgment it is easy to see why members voted 165 to 5 against Hell's Canyon. The daily *Idaho Free Press* of Nampa censured the chamber for its methods.

A few weeks later the Boise Chamber of Commerce conducted a similar "impartial" poll. It was handled—believe it or not—by the chamber's irrigation committee, the chairman of which was President Roach of the Idaho Power Company. Company men went from door to door distributing pamphlets which sang the virtues of the five low-head dams and branded the government project "creeping socialism." Scores of resolutions, all apparently written on the same electric-powered typewriter, all insisting that "private enterprise is ready, willing, an able," were rounded up by company men from granges, garden clubs, church sewing circles, and other civic groups. Not a single one of these organizations had hea the other side of the story before they acted. d

WHETHER such tactics will be effective with Idaho voters is not yet known. Nor can we tell ho much of the propaganda against public power has rubb off on the Federal Power Commission or to what exte it will influence the commission's decisions. The federal Water Power Act directs the F. P. C. to recommend to Congress a federal dam and reject an application for a private dam when the federal dam contributes greater benefits. Technical hearings on the Oxbow license were originally scheduled to begin in Washington, D. C., on November 17 but the F. P. C. has postponed them until January 12. The question inevitably arises: Will the F. P. C. interpret the act according to the outcome of the elections?

If it approves the Oxbow license, private interests will have been judged superior to the public interest. A private utility will be permitted to steal from the public nearly 600,000 kilowatts of power, with a cash value of over $10,000,000 a year plus many more millions in income from new industries. Farmers will lose millions of dollars through being deprived of cheap fertilizer. The people of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington will lose more millions in the value of the recreation, flood control, and navigation that the Oxbow dams will not give them. At worst, a victory for Eisenhower, who favors interstate compacts, might mean an F. P. C. decision completely indorsing the Oxbow plant; at best, a decision against Oxbow but a prolonged stalemate for Hell's Canyon in Congress, like the fifty-year battle on the St. Lawrence Seaway. In either event economic development of the Northwest through maximum use of the waters of the Columbia will suffer a staggering setback.

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and the Radicals on the need for taking precautions about the European army.

The French revolt is closely associated in most people's minds with the name of M. Pinay. Herriot, in declaring the European army "in its present form" to be unconstitutional, stressed that he had previously submitted the text of his speech to M. Pinay, who "had not dissuaded him" from delivering it. On Sunday night the French radio broadcast a statement by Pinay saying that he fully agreed with Herriot, and that while not against the European army in principle he was against any Germans being on its general staff. Although it was later denied that Pinay had made this statement, most people thought he had withdrawn it to avoid internal Cabinet complications and that it represented his real sentiments.

Many things that have been concealed from public view in the last few years by a flood of conformist pro-American propaganda and Free World ballyhoo have now come to the surface, and it is ironical to think that a few of us who refused to take France's Atlantic enthusiasms at their face value should for so long have met with nothing but dirty looks from nice people and dark hints of "neutralism" and "crypto-communism." Pinay's latent *La France aux Français* conservatism, which is not so far removed from Vichyism, and his anti-communism, which is showing clear signs of crystallizing into a major purpose, were bound sooner or later to make common cause with the Gaullists' vigorous anti-communism and devotion to French sovereignty. The feeling loudly voiced in several debates in the National Assembly last winter that France "could not go on like this indefinitely" has become strong again, despite new financial difficulties in the offing—difficulties which were only artificially and temporarily postponed by the "*Confiance Pinay*" drive.

Nothing has really been resolved. The war in Vietnam continues to swallow billions of francs every year, without any real help coming from anywhere. In Europe the United States' determination to build up Germany as a great military power and relegate France to the position of a second-class partner is a fact which no amount of Schuman window-dressing can conceal. Nor can anyone deny the far-reaching effects of what has lately been happening in Germany: the increasing arrogance of Bonn about the Saar, with the government openly fostering back-to-Germany movements there; the encouragement given by the United States to anti-Soviet crusades in which France has no desire to be involved; and, finally, the prospect of a Social Democratic victory in next year's elections, which would make all the Schuman-Adenauer planning meaningless. The German left's lack of faith in the Little Europe of Schuman, with its supra-national authorities, has its parallel in large sections of the French population, as has the German argument that the European army and the Schuman Plan are devices for "enslaving Germany"—here they are considered devices for "enslaving France"! Whether rational or not, the sentiment exists in both countries and, as we have seen, is being more and more openly expressed.

ANOTHER important factor in the French revolt is the belief that Eisenhower is likely to be elected. As a result there is a kind of rush in France to get as far away as possible from any entanglements which the Eisenhower roll-back policy might imply. On the other hand, now that the Communist Party Congress at Moscow—which received an enormous amount of attention here—has shown fairly convincingly that there is no danger of a Russian invasion of Western Europe, it is not surprising that the French government has decided it can afford to start its drive against the Communists; this, to say the least, is expected to serve as a sop to the pro-Americans in France and to the United States itself. Add to all this the irritation over North Africa, especially on the right, and the reasons for the change of attitude here become fairly obvious.

There is no desire to "break" with the United States—still less to refuse American aid—but the revolt is certainly a demonstration in favor of greater French independence. European planning, if there is to be any, must take more account of France's distrust of Germany and dislike of American policy toward Germany. If the war in Vietnam is not to be "shared," France will before long have to do something drastic about it—here there is undoubtedly an element of pressure on Washington. As for North Africa, it is to be hands off, quite definitely, and the main difference of opinion in France is not on whether the U. N. should deal with North Africa but on whether France itself is to be liberal or tough there.

It remains to be seen whether this revolution in foreign policy will be pursued to any kind of logical conclusion; it remains also to be seen what internal counterpart it will have. The arrest of M. Le Leap, one of the non-Communist heads of the Federation of Labor (C. G. T.), and the demand by a military court (which can always be relied upon to take more notice of the government's desires than a civil court) that the parliamentary immunity of Duclos, Marty, and several other Communist deputies be lifted have made a very bad impression on left-wing intellectuals. "At this rate any of us might be arrested," said M. Domenech of *Esprit*, and Claude Bourdet has speculated on the advent of a police state in France. Altogether, the situation contains the most far-reaching possibilities. The least charitable theory about Pinay is that both his new foreign policy and his anti-Communist drive are little more than red herrings to divert people's attention for a time from the country's grave financial and economic difficulties. But there is more to it than that.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Eastern Ways of Thinking

THE MIND OF EAST ASIA. By Lily Abegg. Translated from the German by A. J. Crick and E. E. Thomas. Thames and Hudson. $4.50.

THIS is an attempt, with the aid of psychological techniques, to characterize the patterns of thinking of East Asian peoples—which, for the purposes of this volume, means the Chinese and Japanese—and to trace their manifestations in such fields as language, cosmological beliefs, religion, social behavior, science, and so on. The author's qualifications for this formidable task include a childhood spent in Japan, eleven years as a journalist in China, Japan, and neighboring countries, and—according to the jacket blurb—"the equipment of a person trained in modern psychology." In the latter field she is apparently a follower of Jung.

Starting with the proposition that Chinese and Japanese thinking is radically different from that of the West, Dr. Abegg, from a psychological point of view, arrives at conclusions very similar to those formulated in philosophical terms by F. S. C. Northrop in his "The Meeting of East and West." So striking, indeed, is the similarity that one wonders why Dr. Abegg waits until almost halfway through her book before mentioning it.

Dr. Abegg's basic thesis is that whereas Western thinking tends to be analytical and to follow a single line of reasoned development toward its object, Chinese and Japanese thinking tends to be synthetic and "total" in its approach. That is to say, it does not operate by means of a single chain of reasoning but rather approaches its object from several different directions simultaneously, until it finally completely envelops it—very much, one is tempted to add, as an octopus would envelop its prey. The following key passage (p. 49) further characterizes these two modes of thought:

> Thought in a straight line moves on from point to point; it cannot comprehend the whole at once, but only its individual parts. It is a "one-way thought," which has to penetrate everywhere before it can build a picture of the whole. In other words, this kind of thought must start by analyzing. After the process of analysis is finished, this thought reconstructs the whole from its various parts. . . .
>
> Thought based on envelopment first sees the whole, and the parts only subsequently find their place in this whole. In this kind of thinking, [with] every part belonging to the whole, the whole being already comprehended, [each part] must [then] quite automatically have its place or function in it. It is not necessary to analyze the details, for they are indeed already seen in their interrelationship. . . . It is thought of a synthetic kind.

Whether or not one is prepared to accept this thesis—and it should be stated that Dr. Abegg argues for it quite persuasively—there is no doubt that in her later chapters she has put her finger on many genuinely significant characteristics of Chinese and Japanese civilization. She points out, for example, that the concept of absolute evil or original sin is alien to Chinese and Japanese thinking; that the Chinese world view is one in which time and space form a single continuum, and which stresses the complementary quality of opposites, while rejecting dualisms based on conflict; that East Asian theories of history are cyclical rather than evolutionary; and that the East Asian community is conceived of as an organic hierarchy of smaller social units rather than a collectivistic agglomeration of individuals.

Interlarded with these fruitful observations, however, appear statements of dubious validity, as well as downright factual errors. The errors are particularly conspicuous when she speaks of traditional China, for here she leans heavily upon a rather limited range of second-hand literary sources, some now obsolete and some of questionable merit. Likewise her occasional remarks on modern China—whether of the Kuomintang or of the Chinese Communists—are often superficial. Under the circumstances it is a tribute to her general insight that despite many errors of detail she has succeeded as often as she has in hitting the nail on the head.

A major weakness of the book is its preoccupation with thought processes *per se,* to the exclusion of any satisfactory attempts to explain *why* these processes should assume the forms they do. This failure stems directly from the author's obliviousness to the significance of factors of a non-ideological nature, such as physical geography, economic activity, or social and political organization. Her attitude toward the concepts dominant in any given civilization seems to be curiously Platonic. For her, they appear to have a life of their own, quite irrespective of the physical and social context in which they occur. This makes it impossible for her to give any really adequate explanation for the significant differences found between Chinese and Japanese civilization—as manifested, for example, in their differing attitudes toward law, to which she calls attention.

A further result of this situation is that she sometimes, in a somewhat mystical manner, tries instead to identify ideology with race. Writing of cruelty, for example, she remarks that "all peoples *racially akin to the Chinese* [my italics] possess the same inhuman tendency, just as they are all equally superstitious" (p. 283). Since, for her, the Japanese are presumably culturally but not racially akin to the Chinese, this permits her to argue that the former are less cruel than the latter. (Here, and sometimes elsewhere, her remarks about Japan appear to have an air of special pleading.)

A few pages later, however, in one of several contradictions in the book, she attributes this difference to religious reasons: the Japanese are less cruel than the Chinese because of the greater influence among the former of Buddhism, but both races are more cruel than the Westerners because of the greater influence among the latter of Christianity. Shades of the Spanish Inquisition, Buchenwald, or, for that matter, Hiroshima!

In short, there is much in this book that is of high value, but also much

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that must be read with great caution, especially by the non-specialist. The translation from the German seems to be generally excellent, but it is a pity that many Chinese names have been misspelled, some of them badly and more than once. Examples are Chang Buddhism for Ch'an Buddhism, Huang Ti for Shih Huang Ti, Li Si for Li Ssu, Kwei and Sen for Kuei and Shen, Yang and Yen for Yang and Yin, Pao-China for Pao-chia, Hangkow for Hankow, etc. The index is quite inadequate.

DERK BODDE

Poetry Since 1900

POETRY IN OUR TIME. By Babette Deutsch. Henry Holt and Company. $6.

NO OTHER kind of history can be as dull as literary history usually is; this, though a broad statement, is not an extravagant one—witness the prodigious efflorescence of dulness that our mid-century has provoked. Ateeter on these fulcral years, the inspired have become lookers-back, takers-of-stock, chroniclers. The military and political historians, the historians of labor and industry, have managed to fare pretty well with the awesome occurrences of the last half-century in their domains; but the literary historians have been dull as dishwater and about as wet—all of them. Except Miss Deutsch.

Her "Poetry in Our Time" is a marvelous book and ought to be recommended to anyone who wants to learn something about the poetry written in English since 1900. It is the only book I can think of that will neither bore nor bewilder the newcomer. These are its singular advantages: First, since there is no point in writing about poets who were not any good, most literary histories are a bland succession of praises; yet Miss Deutsch manages to regard the era's every poetic excellence without once being tedious. Second, the organization of literary history naturally falls into periods based on a handful of major figures; yet Miss Deutsch contrives to include hundreds of diverse poets without destroying the clarity of her book's historical structure. Third, where so many have cracked up, Miss Deutsch has the wisdom to stop short; that is, she declines to judge the poetry that has appeared since World War II, although she uses many poems from the time as illustrations. Furthermore, though Miss Deutsch's literary opinions are chiefly those held by current fashion, she states them with renewed vigor and precision, and she does not fear to turn aside from the accepted line when her own interpretation is better than anyone else's.

Not many have read so widely or so sensitively in the poetry of the modern period. Miss Deutsch's book is steeped in poetry and the love of it. She is able to give us hundreds of new comparisons, cross-references, intuitions of the historical process in literature. In her writing the obscure poet flourishes, if only for a sentence, beside his brilliant colleague, and both are enriched. Thus the experienced reader, as well as the beginner, can read her book with profit, and his enjoyment will be all the more for the graceful writing and the discovery or rediscovery of much that our more intense disputants have overlooked. All told, Miss Deutsch has written a first-rate book (but she shouldn't have been so hard on Robinson).

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Croce: Philosopher and Political Man

BENEDETTO CROCE, MAN AND THINKER. By Cecil Sprigge. Yale University Press. $2.50.

CECIL SPRIGGE, for many years head of the British news agency Reuters, in Hamburg and in Rome, and special correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian,* is nevertheless as far from the "typical" correspondent as Croce from the "typical" philosopher. (What manner of philosopher is this "the progressive elaboration of [whose] philosophy has been elicited by the challenge of facts, and not by a sheltered proliferation of images"?) And given Sprigge's background in German and Italian politics and thought and his close acquaintance not only with Croce's work but with the philosopher himself, it is not surprising that he should have been chosen to write the volume on Croce in the Yale Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought.

In Sprigge's study Croce comes alive as the great mature creator, the details of whose thought are, as he himself has often stated, "nothing if not the answer to a special problem." Croce wrote during the war years that "every particular truth is intrinsically systematic and either expressly or implicitly refers to all the others." Thus Sprigge points out that "the biographical sketch, the book review, the notebook entry, the diary, the letter to friends on current affairs," all express, expand, and, in small measure perhaps, exemplify the formal structure of Crocean thought. And he cautions that this work is "not to be known intimately by poring over the 'Aesthetic,' 'Logic,' and other systematic works. Croce must be heard also in the intimate communications of books like the 'Ethical Fragments,' where he reviews the great concerns of humanity . . . at an ambling pace."

The essay will be criticized by those who, familiar with Croce's reputation and the general tenor of his thought, wish a capsule interpretation, a sort of Croce formula which will save them the trouble of further examination or, if they are sincerely curious, will serve as a springboard or short cut in the introductory phase of their own reading of Croce. But Sprigge cautions re-

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peatedly that Croce's work, "philosophical, literary, and political, takes on full meaning only when the vast scope of its unity is discovered." Instead, usefully, the author stresses certain specific interests which, in their initial concatenation and the frequency with which the philosopher has returned to them, have profound relevance to his life and work: such was the early preoccupation with Neapolitan history and folklore, the subsequent detailed inquiry into Marxist contentions, the careful—and largely ignored—study of economic science, the constant preoccupation with the effect of government on the governed. Out of this study emerges a man of vast stature whose mind continues vigorously to grapple with the problems of the living, and so frequently beleaguered, individual.

The important point is made that, in Croce's position he was bound to be a target for the Catholic and Marxist critics who "give expression to a feeling of frustration in face of a philosophy which seems to them to be oriented toward equilibrium in an accepted reality, *when they would have it directed along a route for the surpassing of reality as known at any moment.* The Catholic convicts Croce for refusal to tackle the road of methodic religious exercise and cult, the Communist of a proud rejection of the evangelism of political zeal [italics mine]."

Less clearly does Sprigge expose Croce's own political position as largely responsible for the basic platform of the post-war Liberal Party in Italy. We may believe that the coup d'état—one can call it nothing less—by which the progressive Premier, Parri, was ousted in 1946, and which was engineered by the Liberals in conjunction with the Democ-Christians, far exceeded in fact any intent Croce may have had when he repeatedly attacked the Action Party. This charitable reading would not undo the fact that the immediate result of the unethical and undemocratic ousting is that the Italian nation, liberated from totalitarian rule and from the House of Savoy at last, has been saddled with a Vatican-directed government ever since. Certainly with the "atomizing" of the Socialist coalition which began with the fall of the Action Party, any hope for an autonomous democratic regime in Italy in the immediate future has fled. Sprigge may well write that "the Actionist episode ranks high among the vexations of Croce's last years." It would be only fair for him to add, as a conscientious journalist, that the philosopher's role in helping to bring about the downfall of the coalition spearheaded by the Action Party, which, as Sprigge rightly says, was largely "grounded upon [his] dicta," was one of the "vexations" of post-war Italian political life.

Such minor reservations about the book spring, however, from slight differences in point of view. There is no gainsaying that Sprigge has rendered a service in this controlled and intelligently limited presentation of biographical data—data which must be, given the subject, not only a list of vital statistics but a tracing of the evolution of ideas and their impact on the life of Croce's time. FRANCES KEENE

McCarthy Documented

McCARTHY: THE MAN, THE SENATOR, THE "ISM." By Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May. The Beacon Press. $3.75.

THE extraordinary difficulty of writing news stories about Senator McCarthy arises from his use of the "multiple untruth" system. Take the time and trouble to document the case about one of McCarthy's habitual distortions, misquotations, or plain and ordinary lies, and the Senator from Wisconsin has gone on to sixteen others; it is impossible for anyone to catch up with him in the daily or periodical press. For that reason if for no other it is useful to have some material between book covers.

Jack Anderson, who is on Drew Pearson's staff, and Ronald May, a Wisconsin resident with news-writing and political background who quit his job to work on this book, have put together a mass of documentation which makes the case against McCarthy devastating.

Here are direct quotations from McCarthy himself—and the answering quotations and facts. Here is the story of how McCarthy's fierce ambition and combativeness have made him literally the terror of the Senate, a man shunned by most, despised by many, but feared by nearly all.

Any person with less energy or less ruthlessness than McCarthy would have been ruined long ago by the exposure of his trickery, his tax irregularities, his "fee" for writing a housing pamphlet, his brazen misrepresentations of his own war record, his "quickie" divorce judgments when he was a Wisconsin circuit judge, his incredible juggling of facts and half-facts and outright falsehoods even on the Senate floor. Yet McCarthy has not been ruined—at least through the period of the 1952 Republican Senatorial primary in Wisconsin—and the answer is that he is as crafty as a panther, as tough as a wounded bear, brazen, immune to shame, a clear-eyed devotee of the "big lie" and "multiple untruth," and as ambitious as forty Caesars.

As a boy in a poor section of Wisconsin, bullied by older boys, he got little sympathy from his father, compassionate love from his mother. He learned in his adolescence to be rough, aggressive, and hard-hitting. He fought his way to some kind of education by learning to cram—he can work incessantly for long periods and recuperate like a cat. He can double-cross his closest friends without compunction.

The authors correctly describe their book for what it is—"a book of journalism—reporters' notes on McCarthy the man, the Senator, the 'ism." They disclaim any scholarly attempt to analyze the "baffling post-war phenomenon called McCarthyism," but they do make some suggestions: that perhaps many Americans at this mid-century point, "filled with a strange, un-American malaise" compounded of doubts and fears, wanted "personal explanations" and McCarthy "supplied the Communist issue as both the problem and the solution"; and that the American press, with its quixotic notion that every lie or exaggerated charge made by a Senator must be "factually" reported as "news," helped "build the Frankenstein."

Since we do not know, at this writing, whether the sovereign people of Wisconsin will reelect McCarthy, it is hard to judge how important the labors of Anderson and May will prove to be. If McCarthy is returned to the Senate, the book is going to be used a great deal. If to his own bewilderment his house of cards should suddenly be swept down one imagines that the sociologists would still have some use for the evidence presented here. The question will remain

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how a demagogue and a terribly dangerous man smashed the regime of the La Follettes in Wisconsin and in less than six years made himself a major factor in American politics—a factor so powerful that neither Senator Taft nor Dwight D. Eisenhower knew how to handle him except with restraint, tenderness, and the same terror that freezes so many of McCarthy's other Republican colleagues.

WILLARD SHELTON

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE MILLIONAIRESS" (Shubert Theater) gives the impression of having been knocked together out of spare parts that happened to be lying about in Shaw's workroom. Still, the parts are authentic—the perorations and the conceits, the ingenious twists of plot and the extravagant yet biting humor about money and marriage and social injustice. And an actress of skill, charm, and grace could make the wilful yet enterprising millionairess sufficiently vivid and engaging to carry off the play. Katharine Hepburn employs neither skill nor grace nor charm, but only naked force. She starts off at the top of her voice and almost never lowers it; every movement is violent; and by the end of the evening the sense of strain, induced not only by the sheer volume and monotony of the noise she makes but also by the sight of her distended neck muscles, her tensed body, and haggard face, becomes almost unbearable—and extremely annoying. The man who put a bullet through a television set the other day because it was "playing too loud" had better be kept away from the Shubert.

Miss Hepburn, as I have observed her, has only one routine of expressions, motions, intonations—that of the wilful and athletic young woman. If the part she is playing happens to call for this routine, and if she is firmly directed, she can produce a reasonable facsimile of acting. I had hopes of this performance, given the part and given the fact that the director is Michael Benthall, who two years ago in his charming production of "As You Like It" kept Hepburn sufficiently under control to make her Rosalind acceptable, though at times, to be sure, she did kick over the traces. Then too there were those "rave" reviews reported from London. One can only assume that if she played the part there as she plays it here, Mr. Benthall exercised no control whatever or lost it along the way, and that her performance became famous as one of those curious American spectacles not to be missed.

To give the hoyden her due, there is one scene—the scene in the sweatshop—in which Miss Hepburn is relatively subdued; and the relief was such that I think of it as the best scene in the play.

The rest of the cast, which includes Cyril Ritchard and Robert Helpmann, play very well, but Hepburn rampant, and ridiculous, creates so constant a disturbance that the whole performance is thrown out of proportion.

Miss Hepburn's clothes are beautiful.

Take a sex-starved woman, surround her with people whose sensuous life is full and free, and exhibit her suffering in detail. This seems to be one of the current prescriptions for a play, thanks to the success of Freud and "A Streetcar Named Desire." But "Streetcar," though it seemed to me, in dramatic terms, one long third act, was at least written out of conviction and talent; its sadism was authentic; and these elements generated tension and suspense. Neither conviction nor any particular talent is evident in "The Time of the Cuckoo" (Empire Theater). This time the woman is an American secretary, past forty, single, and still virginal; the setting is Venice, which makes it possible to ring in another theme, the difference between American and European attitudes toward love, sex, and marriage. There is a great deal of talk about this difference—much of which made me ashamed for both races; and the woman bewails interminably her lonely state in a world that goes in two's—to the point where sympathy gives way to boredom, perhaps because disbelief has long since entered in. For this frustrated Puritan (Shirley Booth) looks like nothing so much as a *femme délicieuse*, and one is never convinced that she is either starved for love or incapable of finding it, even at forty-five. Especially in a country where women of forty-five are reputedly still eligible. But American public conventions must be observed. A star must be irresistible and a single American woman must be

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and remain virginal, especially if she goes among foreigners. I look forward to a Kinsey report on the American woman, but though I have no doubt it will prove "disillusioning" I have no doubt either that it will have little or no effect on our public conventions, in the theater or elsewhere.

Shirley Booth plays her thin and thankless part with more verve and skill than it deserves, and Dino DiLuca is so convincing as her Venetian admirer that one wonders if he can play any other role.

The interest of "Bernardine" (Playhouse) is limited, but at least the play seems to have been written from the heart and not merely manufactured. It deals with a group of adolescent boys, and while I can't pass on the authenticity of their lingo or their daydreams, it is apparent that Mary Chase has given them close and loving study. Their antics are both amusing and touching. Only one scene rings false; this is the scene between the fifteen-year-old and the "older woman" who incarnates for the moment his dream of "Bernardine" —a woman at once perfect and comfortably beyond his awkward reach.

The young men who play the parts of the boys—a difficult assignment—are all accomplished, and Johnny Stewart, who has the lead, is particularly good, though Michael Wager as the mama's boy whose conversation consists entirely of accounts of his mother's illnesses, major and minor, contributes the funniest moments of the evening. The mother (Alney Alba) who "understands" her son is almost too naive and obtuse to be believable, but the characterization serves well as a foil for the goings on of the youngsters in "the back room of the Shamrock" where they drink 3.2 beer, exchange confidences and boasts, and call up the girls.

The speech with which the play is introduced—and justified—may or may not be necessary, but surely it should not be intoned as if it were the Gettysburg Address.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A VISIT to the Brociner Electronics Laboratory gave me my first hearing of speakers in corner enclosures with folded horns—specifically the new Brociner Model 4 which uses the Lowther speaker for the entire frequency range, and the new model of the Brociner Transcendant which uses the Lowther for the range above 250 cycles with a 15-inch speaker for the range below that point. In addition I heard the RCA LC1A speaker in the Brociner Ductflex enclosure.

The Ductflex turned out to be a rectangular cabinet similar to the bass-reflex—one that makes the port a duct. The objective is a smaller cabinet that will produce a sound like that from the 10-cubic-foot infinite-baffle box; and without having heard the two types of cabinet side by side I would say the Ductflex works very well but I still prefer the sound from the infinite-baffle box.

As for the Model 4 and the Transcendant, they produced sound that was ramarkable in the clarity of definition throughout its range, the solidity of the bass, the live distinctness or "presence" of the upper range, the cleanness and sweetness of the high violins. The Transcendant was the more impressive of the two by virtue of the greater solidity and projective force; but both Mr. Brociner and Mr. Hegeman, his associate in the development of the systems, said this was partly a result of the location of the two systems in the room. Side by side with these two the LC1A in the Ductflex sounded very pale; what the LC1A would sound like in a folded-horn enclosure, or—as my engineer friend suggested—in combination with a low-range speaker in such an enclosure, I have yet to hear. Mr. Brociner told me of its improved sound —the increased power of the bass and increased over-all efficiency—in a Gately enclosure, which I hope to be able to hear for myself in the near future.

The records were played on equipment which included the Brociner preamplifier; and so I had an opportunity to observe the effect of the operation of an equalization system, which Mr. Brociner and some others consider essential. Their contention is that good reproduction requires different response characteristics to fit the companies' different recording characteristics; but in practice, it turned out, there was no such correspondence. A record was played with the equalizer set for the right response characteristic, but didn't sound right; whereupon it was played with whatever other response characteristic made it sound right; and then it sounded the way it had sounded on my own equipment with only the one equalization providing a single compromise turnover at 500 cycles. The reason was that a company's recordings are not all alike, and that the differences in sound result not only from failure to adhere to the alleged recording characteristic but from differences in microphone placement and acoustic conditions. What, nevertheless, makes an equalization system worth having in addition to treble and bass controls is that, with the equalization system providing the basic equalization, the controls can be used to provide additional gradations of treble and bass. And the compromise 500-cycle turnover doesn't take care of the old 300-cycle European 78s. I should add that the violins of the London recording of Mahler's Fourth that had sounded excessively veiled on my equipment sounded the same on the Brociner equipment not only with the equalizer set for London recording but with every other setting that was tried.

And finally, I heard the new Fairchild, Pickering, and G. E. cartridges, of which the Fairchild impressed me as

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unquestionably superior to the others by virtue of the refinement of its sound. The sound of the G. E. was slightly edged; that of the Pickering somewhat coarse; and of these two I preferred the G. E.

The Haydn Society has issued the Schneider Quartet's performances of Haydn's Quartets Opus 50 (1786), of which Nos. 3 and 6 were already known to me as superb works, and Nos. 4 and 5 turn out to be as fine. No. 4 in particular is one of the unusual works that Haydn was likely to produce when he wrote in minor mode—with powerful harmonic strokes in the slow movement, and the surprise of a moderate-paced finale that is a wonderfully expressive fugue. No. 1 I find not very interesting, and No. 2 not much more so. The playing again has the exciting life in all parts that Haydn's liveliness of mind calls for, and is well reproduced except for treble in No. 5 that needs stepping up and then is sharp in loud passages.

Schubert's wonderfully beautiful Quartet Opus 29 is on a London record, played very well by the Vegh Quartet, though I would like a little less hurried and more relaxed treatment of the minuet movement and the finale even better. Again the violins sound veiled.

An unavoidable cut in my October 18 article caused the omission of my reasons for disliking Furtwängler's recorded performances of Beethoven's Seventh, Mozart's G minor, and the Brahms-Haydn Variations: "They exhibit his tendencies to slowness of pace (except for the first movement of the Mozart, which is played much too fast), to lingering even in the slow pace, and to fussing with changes of pace."

CONTRIBUTORS

DERK BODDE, professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of "Chinese Ideas in the West," among other books, and the translator of the two-volume "History of Chinese Philosophy" by Fung Yu-lan.

HAYDEN CARRUTH was formerly editor of *Poetry*.

FRANCES KEENE lived in Italy for many years and edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," a documented history of fascism as told by the opposition.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Dangers of Complacency

Dear Sirs: The United States' enormous war strength is often referred to in the press, but the resistance it has encountered receives less emphasis. For example, little mention is made of the 149,000 North Korean casualties. Even the severe Allied losses are seldom given. America has become so "success-minded" and the press has so lauded American successes that the frustrated ordinary man thinks his leaders must be concealing traitors. McCarthy gets his support from wounded pride, not from actual danger to security.

This self-worship can lead to unexpected results, and one of them may be Eisenhower as our next President.

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia

Socialists and the Election

Dear Sirs: Northern Democratic machines are apolitical: they will support whatever wins votes. Southern reactionaries are isolating themselves from the party. The only other major component is the Northern liberal and labor groups, as represented by the A. D. A. These groups have a genuinely progressive social program whose position on consumer cooperatives, public development of resources, and unionization of labor could be regarded as transitional to full social democracy. By the way, the Democratic fund-raising difficulties both in 1948 and this year should squelch the notion that the Democratic Party is a capitalist plot.

Why, then, doesn't the Democratic Party whole-heartedly embrace socialism? For the simple fact, which liberals are so loath to admit, that a majority of the American people do not want socialism. As long as we have a two-party system, the official party platforms must approach each other (a frequent Socialist accusation against the Democrats) in the competition for the necessary support of in-between voters—for some strange reason called "independents"! But the ideology of Democrats is not so conservative, and thus the party can be a more liberal force in government. Before the Second World War, when the British electorate regarded Tories and Labor as poles apart, Labor was never able to achieve an effective Parliamentary support for its ministries; the Liberal Party captured the in-between vote. Now that the official Labor leadership does not contemplate further radical change, and the Tories claim to have accepted most of the welfare state, the Liberal Party has dwindled away.

The Socialist Party's hero-martyr delusions would not be important if this year's election were not going to be so close. But Socialists may actually hold the balance of power in key states like New York. The difference between Democrats and Republicans is not ideal, but it is real. *The Nation's* recent discussion of those who would control the committees of a Republican Congress should be convincing. Therefore I urge my fellow-Socialists to ignore their party's quixotic campaign and to vote Democratic. American liberties, the labor movement, and even world peace may well be at stake.

Seattle DAVID DRAKE

The Korean Stalemate

Dear Sirs: My son was wounded less than a month after he arrived in Korea but has now returned to active duty. I thank God that he is alive today. In the truce negotiations we have compromised or yielded on practically every issue except that of the return of war prisoners. There we have closed the door to any compromise or yielding. American families are asked to continue to sacrifice their sons indefinitely while our government tries to change the attitude of the Communists by bombing North Korean cities and intensifying the ground action. It is conceivable that such tactics will bring about the much-to-be-desired concession on the war-prisoner issue from the Communists. It is also conceivable that such tactics will never succeed but will increase with each passing day the threat of full-scale conflict. If the American public were faced today with the alternative of defending the principle of no return of war prisoners against their will or total war with China, I feel sure that some compromise would immediately be reached. As long as our present policy confines the cost in lives and injury to a relatively small group it is tolerated.

Our present policy is negative, dangerous, costly, and inequitable in terms of the burdens it imposes on a few while

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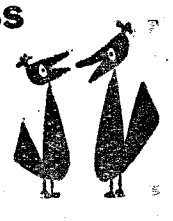

the great majority of Americans escape them completely. In most newspapers Korean news and casualty lists are buried in the back pages. The policy we are following bars the way to constructive action in rebuilding Korea and is giving us a black eye in Asia. Why should the American public get stirred up about this as long as it is a minority which must carry the burden?

The only way the Administration can be forced to explore new possibilities in this situation is by the pressure of public opinion. I wish very much that *The Nation* would do its utmost to keep the Korean issue alive. It isn't enough to say that nothing can be done until the election is over. Before then thousands of our young men will be butchered in this futile military see-sawing. With the campaign dominating the public's attention more and more, the Korean issue must not be callously shoved aside. It seems to me that there is hardly anything more important in terms of our future. Someone ought to question this steady, quiet butchering which is the cost of our present position. There is everything to gain by intensifying the search to find a way to end the military conflict. I hope *The Nation* will help.

Medford, Mass. LEWIS F. MANLY

The Struik Case

Dear Sirs: You may have noticed that in recent news stories the district attorney of Middlesex County has announced a further delay of my trial and of that of the two other defendants [for allegedly advocating the violent overthrow of the governments of Massachusetts and of the United States, see *The Nation* of November 24, 1951]. I have received so many inquiries about the status of my case that I want to give you a brief explanation of events as I see them.

The district attorney has been quoted as stating that he does not wish to proceed to trial as long as one of the defendants, Mrs. Gilbert, is fighting extradition from Illinois. He has argued that trying us all together will save the county the expense of two trials. It is clear, therefore, that the responsibility for the delay rests not upon me but upon the district attorney.

The financial argument for the delay is hardly convincing if we consider how much the taxpayers might have been saved in dollars, and how much Massachusetts might have been saved in self-respect, if these indictments had not been sought in the first place.

It seems a refined cruelty to hold a man under criminal indictment month after month for a year and longer, his fate subject to events over which neither he nor the prosecution seems to have any control. Let me remind you that immediately following the indictments I said that the principal effect of mine would be to intimidate teachers who want to speak out for peace and for the truth as they see it. The whole history of this case seems to confirm my opinion.

In short, although I am charged with shaking the foundations of Massachusetts and of the nation by something I supposedly said between 1944 and 1948, and the indictments came years after that, and now more than another year has elapsed, it will still be some time before the public can know whether or not a man may hold and express a point of view unpopular in some high places without going to jail. DIRK J. STRUIK

Belmont, Mass.

Doing Our Job

Dear Sirs: More than three decades have passed since I acquired the habit of reading *The Nation*. It seems proper that I should write a word with regard to what the journal is doing to meet its present-day responsibilities. It is no exaggeration to say that, in my judgment, there has never been a period during the past half-century, or at least as much of it as I have known, when this magazine met the needs of the age more courageously and adequately than is the case today. This is high praise when we take into account what *The Nation* has accomplished in the past.

There has never been an era in modern history when the services of an interpreter of the highest level of public opinion were needed more than they are today. The sniping at the United Nations in California and Idaho, to which you called attention in the issue of September 20, is only one illustration of what I mean. It seems peculiarly unfortunate that the idea of "one world," which the U. N. organization was designed to promote and make incarnate, has deteriorated year after year until it has now reached that extreme dualism which it was the prime purpose of its founders to avoid. I realize that it is possible to furnish innumerable alibis for the situation, especially for our share in it, but this fact, if it be a fact, does not relieve the stark tragedy of the picture. . . . FREDERICK D. KERSHNER

Dean Emeritus, School of Religion,

Indianapolis Butler University

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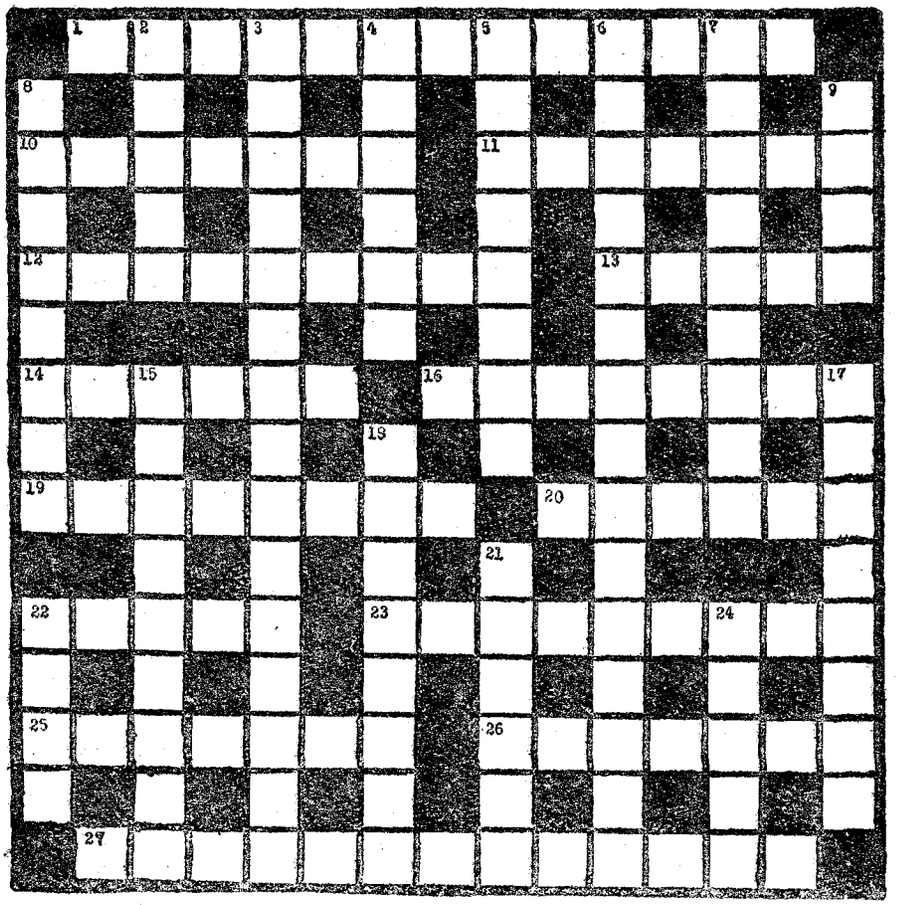
Crossword Puzzle No. 488

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Baseball's not as busted as N. Y. U.'s. (3, 4, 2, 4)
10 See 22 across.
11 One who capitalizes on the bill for trimmings? (7)
12 Another name for those things which reputedly deserve to be perpetuated. (9)
13 Decline to do so. (5)
14 The proper name for a sort of oil rag. (6)
16 I'm coming back in the sort that Gertrude had four of. (8)
19 Printer (or tailor or counsel?) (8)
20 Is such an impression made away from the scene? (6)
22 and 10. Serve food to supporters of future flyers. (12)
23 Related to the backstop? (9)
25 A spring? Like heck it is! (7)
26 His man doesn't necessarily get in, despite the implication. (7)
27 Place descriptive of the River Rouge employment office? (13)

DOWN

2 Lo! The poor Greek, rather than the poor Indian. (5)
3 A regular apple, proverbially! (6, 9)
4 This might teach one what they have at the bathing beach each year. (6)
5 Antithetical. (8)
6 Oral obstruction might hamper it, somewhat. (7, 2, 6)
7 Scotch ganders? They're somewhat like ichneumons. (9)
8 The distance between old-fashioned lovers? (5, 3)
9 See 22 down.
15 France, at one time, could be unconcealed at this place. (4, 5)
17 Do they pay up their bills before they build new homes for themselves? (8)
18 The sort of gem a singer takes to town. (4, 4)
21 Long written or long spoken. (It sometimes follows the Apostle.) (6)
22 and 9. Suitable accompaniment of a lightning arrester? That's so much hokum! (8)
24 Autonomous republic or variant tribesman. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 487

ACROSS:—5 WEIGHTS; 9 ARROW; 10 and 32 NORFOLK; 11 COVER; 12 SPRATS; 15 and 1 across DOWN ON THE FARM; 16 SARACEN; 17 TIER; 19 and 21 MARE NOSTRUM; 23 WARP; 25 PAINTER; 27 TILDEN; 29 DAHLIA; 34 and 26 ADORATION; 35 INGOT; 36 DURANTE; 37 KINETIC.

DOWN:—1 TRANSIT; 2 ERROR; 3 and 18 AT WIT'S END; 4, 33, 31, 30, 5 MANY HANDS MAKE LIGHT WORK; 6 INCHON; 7 HAVEN; 8 STRANGE; 13 SAROYAN; 14 CARTONS; 15 DENUDED; 20 and 22 A LA MODE; 22 MATCHED; 24 PLASTIC; 25 PERSON; 28 LINER;

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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